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THE PRE-CHRISTIAN BELIEF IN THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY

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Credo in Jesum Christum, qui tertio die resurrexit a mortuis.
Credo in carnis resurrectionem.

The Christian belief in the resurrection resembles a tree which springs from a common soil in two separate trunks which are, however, closely intertwined. As we seek to uncover its pre-Christian roots, we shall follow this twofold division.

I

“Tertio die resurrexit a mortuis”: This affirmation suggests at once the thought of the rising God. Passing over this main idea, the secondary notion is that the resurrection of one departed takes place shortly after his death, and in any case independently of “the end of the days.” Both of these topics are to be investigated more exactly in the following discussion.

Considered from the point of view of the history of religion, the faith in the resurrection of Jesus is indissolubly connected with the faith in the resurrection of other gods. Especially is this belief present throughout the whole eastern Mediterranean Levantine coast which extends from Ephesus and Bithynia, through Anatolia, to Tarsus and Antioch, and from there through Syria, Babylonia, Phoenicia, and Palestine, beyond the cult centers Bubastis and

Sais to Alexandria.¹ The names of Attis, Adonis, Tammuz, Marduk, Melcart, Eshmun, Sandan, Osiris, etc., are known and they lead us in part even farther westward to Greece,² Carthage, Sardinia, and Rome. But this is not all: on German soil the much-discussed figure of Balder belongs at any rate in the circle of analogous God-phenomena;³ and again in Mexico, for example, the belief in the death and resurrection of certain gods is plainly present in customs which are certainly not out of harmony with the altogether bloody character of the Mexican religion.⁴

The gods to be mentioned in this connection are, so far as we can see, vegetation or astral deities. Thus in Peru, there is the goddess Chicomehuatl, the maize deity, whose death is symbolized by the actual death of a young girl and whose resurrection is represented by a priest concealed in the skin of this human sacrifice.⁵ Balder's connection with the stars is revealed, perhaps, in the etymology of his name which represents him as the bright, glowing god.⁶ Alongside of this, however, his relations to vegetation, especially to the oak tree, are unmistakable.⁷ Attis has been explained as a sun-god,⁸ but his origin from the almond tree,⁹ his change into a pine cone,¹⁰ the sprouting of violets from his blood,¹¹ the prohibition of the use of bread and grain at the time of the mourning for his death,¹² all point in still another direction: "Attis personnifie probablement la végétation, brûlée par les ardeurs de l'été avant d'avoir atteint sa maturité et qui durant l'hiver paraît s'affaiblir et pour ainsi dire perdre sa virilité, puis

¹ Cf. K. Vollers, *Die Weltreligionen in ihrem geschichtlichen Zusammenhange* (Jena, 1907), p. 152.

² Cf. here also Dionysus, Hyacinthus; others in S. Reinach, *Cultes, mythes et religions* (Paris, 1906), III, 58 f.

³ Cf. R. M. Meyer, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 313, 324.

⁴ See J. G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat* (London, 1913), pp. 288 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 286, n. 1; pp. 292 ff.

⁶ Cf. W. Golther, *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1895), p. 366.

⁷ Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful* (London, 1913), II, 88 ff.

⁸ H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult* (Giessen, 1903), p. 168, p. 180, n. 4; p. 209, n. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 106, n. 1; p. 117.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 114, n. 4; pp. 119, 150.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 114; cf. pp. 150 ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 156.

mourir, pour renaître au printemps avec un nouvel éclat."¹ The relation of Adonis to vegetation has been already expressed through the custom, also attested in the Old Testament (Isa. 17:10 f.), of the Adonis gardens as well as through his connection with the anemone.² The later Greeks and the Latins conceived of him as the ripened fruit. His death represented the harvested fruit or the grain sowed in the earth and growing up again therefrom.³ When even as late as about the year 1591 A.D., at the spring festival at Malta, according to Al Hasan Al-Bûrîni, a highly honored idol was thrown into a garden under bean blossoms, we see in this practice, perhaps rightly, an echo of an old Adonis-cult which exhibits the god as a vegetation deity.⁴ But certainly he was also looked upon, evidently at a later time, as a sun-god.⁵ And this same twofold character recurs in the case of Tammuz. For example, in a Babylonian Tammuz hymn it is said that he buries himself like a great man in the grain and lies down therein.⁶ He is compared⁷ in his departure to a withering plant or to the tamarisk, and buds and green leaves are connected with his death.⁸ Furthermore, in consequence of his connection with Shamash,⁹ he appears as a heaven-god, or more precisely as a star-god, even if not himself perhaps as a sun-god, in which character there has been a disposition to portray him.¹⁰ At least, in a cuneiform text from Boghazköi, belonging somewhere in the fourteenth century B.C., a star of the god Dumuzi is mentioned;¹¹ and in Antioch the feast

¹ F. Cumont, "Notice sur un Attis funéraire," *Extrait du Bulletin de l'Institut archéol. Liégeois*, XXIX (1901), 5.

² Cf. W. Graf Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 88, 129.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 161 ff.

⁴ R. Wunsch, *Das Frühlingsfest auf der Insel Malta* (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 19 ff.

⁵ See Baudissin, *op. cit.*, pp. 169 ff.

⁶ H. Zimmern, *Sumerisch-babylon. Tamuzlieder* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 208 B at end (Lied 1).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 220, 16 ff. (Lied 3).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 208 B, 1 ff. (Lied 1); pp. 236, 1 ff. (Lied 7).

⁹ H. Zimmern, *Der babyl. Gott Tamuz* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 715.

¹⁰ So, for example, Delitzsch, Jastrow, Lenormant, Pinches, Sayce. See, on the other hand, Baudissin, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-7.

¹¹ Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 735.

of Adonis, who is here, however, to be identified with Tammuz, was celebrated in connection with the ascent of a star bringing salvation.¹ Furthermore, the Babylonian Marduk was originally perhaps a vegetation deity before he became the god of the spring sun,² and with greater probability the same thing may be said of Melcart.³ Just so Eshmun⁴ and Sandan⁵ are to be accounted for as originally vegetation deities. Sandan, for example, is often drawn with a branch or a flower in his hand.⁶ Likewise, Osiris is not lacking in relations to vegetation: in Byblos, whither, according to the well-known myth transmitted to us through Plutarch, his sarcophagus was carried upon the sea, he is identified with the *erica* surrounding the body.⁷ Further, in representations from later times, we see trees growing from his grave or grain sprouting forth from his body.⁸ On the other hand, the songs which Isis and her sister Nephthys are said to have sung at Osiris' grave represent Osiris as a pure sun-god.⁹ So also the greater part of the Egyptian texts place the death of the god and the lamentation for him upon the last day of the month Choiak, at the time of the shortest day of the year, upon which the Egyptians formerly placed the death of the sun-god Râ and other peoples the death and rebirth of the sun.¹⁰ In addition, to be sure, the numbers given by

¹ Ammianus Marcell. xxii. 9. 14.

² Cf. Baudissin, *op. cit.*, 107 f., 172. That a disappearance and reappearance of Marduk was supposed even as in the case of Tammuz is certainly not attested by inscriptions (H. Zimmern, *Zum Streit um die Christusmythe* [Berlin, 1910], p. 48), but it is probable. See, for example, also P. Jensen, *Das Gilgameschepos* (Strassburg, 1906), p. 925. Here, moreover, the "apparently self-evident" supposition is that also Gilgamesh in the oldest form of his legend rose again after his death. Marduk is pre-eminently also *muballit mlti*; that is, "the one who brings the dead to life."

³ Baudissin, *op. cit.*, p. 359. Melcart is also meant when Menander (Jos., *Ant.*, VIII, v, 3) speaks of an Ἡρακλῆς of the Tyrian Heracles.

⁴ Baudissin, *op. cit.*, pp. 282, 345.

⁵ Cf. H. Böhlig, *Die Geisteskultur von Tarsos im augusteischen Zeitalter* (Göttingen, 1913), pp. 44 f.

⁶ Böhlig, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 45.

⁷ W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (Edinburgh, 1889), p. 175.

⁸ Baudissin, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁹ A. Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Aegypter* (Münster, 1890), p. 115.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

Plutarch are significant: 28, the number of years of Osiris' life (or reign), and 14, the number of parts of his body—both lunar numbers. Moreover, texts bring him expressly into connection with the moon. Thus, Ramses IV upon his memorial stone at Abydos says, "Thou art the moon which is in heaven, thou renewest thy youth at will, thou becomest young at thy pleasure, thou appearest in order to drive away the darkness,"² etc. The lunar character of Osiris is indicated by Plutarch's statement³ that the day of his death fell upon the seventeenth of Athyr, and that of his resurrection upon the nineteenth—that is, the third day, for most probably the three days should be connected with the time of the invisibility of the moon. As a matter of fact, as will be considered below, already at the primitive stage, the faith in resurrection on the third day is motivated by the allusion to the equally long invisibility of the moon. Of course, it may be pointed out that the third day serves likewise, especially in Parseeism,⁴ and in the rabbinical literature,⁴ and also in other places,⁵ as the day on or after which the fate of the soul is decided.⁶ But if, as is still the most probable supposition, this idea of the third day originates in the simple observation of the fact that the body begins to decay at about this time, it is far less suitable as an explanation of the belief in the revival of the deity than the thought of the reappearing star, which is evidently personified in the deity. According to the faith of later times, Osiris was three days and three nights in the waters before he was restored to life again.⁷ We are thereby reminded naturally of the three days and the three nights of the Jonah story (Jon. 2:1)

² Ad. Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion* (Berlin, 1905), p. 82.

³ *De Is. Os.*, c. 13, 39; cf. 42.

⁴ E. Böklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1902), p. 27.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 27 ff.

⁶ For instance, among the tribes of Western Victoria; see Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, I (London, 1913), 142.

⁷ Cf. Baudissin, *op. cit.*, pp. 412 ff.; Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (Göttingen, 1913), pp. 30 f.

⁸ R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1910), p. 213.

and we cannot escape the question whether the myth of the sea-monster that swallows the star which sinks into the waves did not affect this story in some way. Hans Schmidt, upon the basis of a rich collection of parallels, has furnished proof of this;¹ but because of the three days we should not think, with Schmidt, of a sun-myth, but of an original moon-myth.² In a sun-myth the return of the hero, or the resurrection of the god, must follow on the next day. Perhaps we may thus explain the fact that in the cult of Adonis, who appears in the rôle of a sun-god but not in that of a moon-god, the resurrection festival occurs $\tau\hat{\eta}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\eta$ $\eta\acute{\mu}\epsilon\rho\alpha$,³ after the wailing for the dead. Or this return or resurrection falls in an essentially later time, when it is associated with the dying of the sun only through the decline of its power during the winter period. Thus, according to a Babylonian text from the Arsacid period,⁴ there are 160 days between Nergal's descent to the underworld on the eighteenth of Tammuz, and his reappearance therefrom on the twenty-eighth of Chislew, and these dates, according to Zimmern's conjecture,⁵ may hold good perhaps for Tammuz also. In the Roman Attis-cult, the feast which bore the name Hilaria, and symbolized the resurrection of the god, fell upon the twenty-fifth of March, while the twenty-second—that is, the fourth preceding day—marked the proper beginning of the mourning ceremonies.⁶ We cannot perhaps succeed in showing Attis to have been a moon-god; but scarcely any difficulty could be raised in the way of the supposition that the characteristics which originally

¹ *Jona* (Göttingen, 1907).

² Similarly then, of course, in the Orion legend, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 f., 111, as in the Indian tale communicated on pp. 44 f. If here the man dwelling three days in the great fish is the moon, then his sister who rescues him is the sun. That Orion, "exhausted and worn, but still living and bestirring himself," was borne to land by the dolphin may be a reflection of the fact that after the three days only a part of the moon appears; the sun, on the other hand, returns in full vigor.

³ Lucian, *De dea Syria*, § 6.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, VI (1891), 244, 52 ff.

⁵ *Der babyl. Gott Tammuz*, p. 734. The Jewish fast on the seventeenth of Tammuz went back perhaps originally to an old mourning festival for Tammuz (M. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* [Boston, 1898], p. 682), according to Houtsma, *Over de israelietische Vastendagen* (Amsterdam, 1897), pp. 4-6, 12-17.

⁶ Hepding, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 165 f.

belonged to a moon-god were gradually carried over to the cult of a sun-god; and the interchange of the third and fourth days may have originated simply from the fact that in one case the day of death was reckoned in the three days and in the other case was not.¹

How the transition from a vegetation deity to an astral deity or vice versa is to be explained in any particular case need not here be investigated more closely. In general, it need only to be noted that on the one side is evident the spread of the idea that the growth of vegetation depends upon the influence of the stars; a star-deity can therefore easily become queen of vegetation. On the other hand, as time goes on there is abundant proof of the tendency to transfer to the heavens a deity who was originally wholly earthly; to say nothing of the fact that in one or another case, through the combination of originally independent divine beings, the idea of a god can be enriched with new characteristics.

This is the point at which we have arrived: how the observation of the processes of nature can give rise to a resurrection faith by transforming the fate of vegetation on the one hand, and of the star on the other, into the fate of the deities connected with them: out of the course of nature arises personal experience. This is shown by the myth as well as the cultus of the deities concerned, it being immaterial which of the two is the older. As vegetation dies and as the stars disappear so the deity dies and is bewailed; as the vegetation again bursts into bloom and as the stars are "born again,"² so the deity comes to life again and is greeted with joy; and the correct performance of this act of the cultus may in its turn serve to restore to the deity the strength necessary for his new life,³ or, otherwise expressed, to exercise magical influence upon the growth of vegetation and the return of the star.

¹ The occasional mention of three and a half days as the resurrection terminus must be regarded as a specifically Jewish combination between the third and fourth days (Rev. 11:9, 11; Apocalypse of Elijah, edited by Steindorff in *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, XVII, N.F. 2, p. 163); for three and a half, the half of seven, is a number of the Jewish apocalyptic; cf. Dan. 9:27. From the three days rise the three hours as an indication of the time after which Adam was raised into the third heaven (Apoc. Moses, § 37). Cf. Böklen, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

² Cf. the characteristic rabbinical designation of the new moon as מולד.

³ Cf. Frazer, *The Dying God* (London, 1912), pp. 212, 233, 252, 261 ff.

However, is there any actual connection between the faith in the resurrection of the deities we have considered and the faith in Christ's resurrection? No dogmatic considerations of any sort may predetermine the answer. Rather, proceeding along purely historical lines, we must first of all ask the simple question whether the faith in Christ's resurrection is not to be explained primarily in and of itself; that is, whether we should not content ourselves merely with the fact that it is narrated in the New Testament. But just at this point differences arise, in that these narratives, as is well known, are full of contradictions.¹ This holds true, among other things, particularly in reference to the degree of corporeity of the risen one (cf., for example, on the one hand, Luke 24:15, 31, 36; John 20:19; and especially I Cor. 15:50; and, on the other, Luke 24:39; John 20:24-29; Acts 10:40 f.), as well as in reference to the date of his resurrection (on the third day: Matt. 16:21; 17:23; 20:19; after three days: Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:34; three days and three nights in the bosom of the earth: Matt. 12:40). With reference to one thing only the narratives leave us in no doubt—namely, that the disciples on the basis of personal experiences became increasingly certain that the Crucified One lived. Of whatever sort, however, may have been the historical facts upon which such a faith is based,² the distinctive character of this faith is so complex that there is scarcely any escape from the supposition of the activity of extraneous influences in its making. Of course, the fact that Christianity shows the same variation as other cults in the determination of the resurrection day is so extraordinary that we may see in this agreement much more than mere coincidence.³ And this variation goes back even to the choice of the Old Testament passages which are hunted out as *dicta probantia* for the resurrection of Christ. With his *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς* (I Cor. 15:4) Paul doubtless has in mind Hos. 6:2;

¹ Cf. the latest exposition by Joh. Weiss, *Das Urchristentum* (Göttingen, 1914), pp. 60-75; further, e.g., Arnold Meyer, *Die Auferstehung Christi* (Tübingen, 1905).

² Most of all, in my opinion, it must here be especially emphasized that Paul, through the recurring *ᾠφθην*, I Cor. 15:5-8, puts his visionary experience upon the same level with that of the original apostles.

³ Cf. O. Pfleiderer, *Das Christusbild des urchristlichen Glaubens* (Berlin, 1903), p. 69, n. 1 and p. 105.

on the other hand, Matt. 12:40 parallels Jesus' sojourn for three days and three nights in the bosom of the earth with Jonah's stay of the same length of time in the body of the fish (Jon. 2:1). The more contradictory these data are, the more probable does it become that these Old Testament passages of the primitive Christian theology must have been employed only gradually as the basis for a thought taken over in the main from other sources.¹ We are supported in this supposition through observing how far Hos. 6:2 is from having any messianic meaning.²

¹ That these passages had already served in the synagogue for that sort of demonstration can in no way be proved.

² I do not think that Hos. 6:2 has anything whatever to do with resurrection in the correct sense of the word. The opposite of חִיָּה, according to Hebraic usage, may even be "sickness" (cf. for example, Isa. 38:16b), and this alone agrees with vs. 1, רָפָא and חֲבַשׁ. Also in the sickness-psalm, Ps. 41, חֲקִים (v. 11) stands in all probability in the sense of "to raise up from a sick bed" = to help up. "After two days . . . on the third day" belongs indeed simply in the category of the so-called number-proverbs, in which there occurs the distribution of the number-items between two sentences—for example, Prov. 30:15, 18, 21 and 29. Such combinations serve merely for the expression of indefinite enumeration (cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Grammar*, § 134s). Furthermore, the third day—as is shown by II Kings 20:5—is perhaps a proverbial idiom to express a short time. Thereby the greatness of the hyperbole in the mouth of the people loses the objectionable element which Baudissin (*op. cit.*, p. 410) finds in the words. If he were right in his contention that the revivification was thought of as following on the third day after the return to Yahweh, and not on the third day after the occurrence of the people's deathlike condition (pp. 410 f.), then this would obviate again the possibility of bringing the three days into connection with a resurrection-festival of the cult on the third day; whereas he in his noteworthy review of the passage (pp. 403-11) takes particular pains to point out this possibility. All the more does *our* conception of the passage gain in probability. I Sam. 2:6 is to be understood in similar fashion, a passage from which a resurrection belief has been extracted quite erroneously. That מְחִיָּה in opposition to מָמִית may mean simply "to let live" is incontrovertibly shown by Gen. 12:12, and this conception of I Sam. 2:6 is supported by the related passage Deut. 32:39, where again, as in Hos. 6:2, אֶרְפָּא stands parallel to אֶחְיֶה. It may not be asserted that the second half-verse "down to Sheol" and "to bring up again from Sheol" makes necessary an understanding of the passage in the sense of restoration to life after death; for, as indicated by Ps. 30:4, "to bring up from Sheol" means nothing more than to release from the danger of death. One hovering on the edge of the grave is already as good as dead in the vivid imagination of the Semite. Who knows whether the epithet so common in Babylonian divine names—namely, *muballit mti* (see above, p. 4, n. 2, and cf. Baudissin, *op. cit.*, pp. 311 ff., p. 315, n. 2, pp. 317, 329, 398 f., n. 3)—is not also to be understood in a corresponding sense, as a designation of the deity who helps his own through the most difficult dangers? The thought of a resurrection proper does not otherwise occur in Babylonian literature.

How one could be misled into relating the passage to the Messiah is unintelligible, unless he was seeking for a proof-text for resurrection on the third day and so read into it this thought which was originally probably wholly alien to it. Thus, belief in resurrection on the third day does not find its proper root in the Old Testament.

All the more must we resort to the supposition of an influence from the side of the aforesaid cults. The only question is whether an acquaintance with them is historically demonstrable upon the soil from which the Christian faith sprang. This question is to be answered in the affirmative.¹ Osiris, according to the brilliant conjecture of Lagarde, is perhaps named in Isa. 10:4. In any case, he is known in Palestine much earlier, according to the excavations there.² We have already had to relate³ Isa. 17:10 and 11 to the Adonis-cult (cf., further, Jer. 22:18; 34:5; I Kings 12:24 in LXX). The practice of the Tammuz-cult in Jerusalem is expressly shown by Ezek. 8:14, and possibly Dan. 11:37 also goes back to it. On the other hand, it seems to me a less fortunate suggestion when Gressmann⁴ would understand Isa., chap. 53, as a cult-song originating from the mystery-religions which was sung by the worshipers on the death-day of the god—a god from the circle of the Adonis or Tammuz forms. What is said in Isa. 53:2 and 3, regarding the lack of beauty and the general contempt for the martyr, is absolutely out of harmony with these gods. Zach. 12:11 might much better be named in this connection, since to relate the lamentation for Hadad Rimmon to the god Hadad, who was probably in some way connected with Adonis, has the most in its favor.⁵ According to Jerome,⁶ the Tammuz- or Adonis-worship was carried on even in the time between Hadrian and Constantine in the birth-cave of Jesus at Bethlehem. Finally, it may be noted

¹ Cf., for example, Bruno Meissner in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, V (1902), 233.

² Cf. P. Volz., *Die biblischen Altertümer* (Calw and Stuttgart, 1914), p. 175.

³ See p. 3.

⁴ *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1905), pp. 326 f., 330. Concerning Isa., chap. 53, see below.

⁵ Cf. Baudissin in *Protest. Realencyclopädie*³, VII, 295.

⁶ *Epistola LVIII ad Paulinum* (in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XXII, col. 581).

that centers of Christian faith outside of Palestine, like Alexandria and Antioch and even Tarsus,¹ the home of Paul, were headquarters of cults of specifically resurrection deities. And the fact, at least supplementary, of an amalgamation of the Christ-cult with the cults of the older resurrection-gods is beyond question. With what is known of those cults² we may compare, for example, only one description such as the following³ of the Easter festival in the Greek church:

The community buries its Christ in a solemn manner even as if he had actually died. Finally, the wax figure is again set up in the church and the same desolate wailing sounds break forth anew. This lamentation lasts in connection with the strictest fast until midnight Saturday. As soon as twelve o'clock strikes, the bishop appears and announces the joyful message "Christ is risen"; whereupon the mass answers "He is risen indeed," and at once the whole town quakes with the noisy jubilation which is let loose in yells and cries as well as in endless shots from guns and cannon, and setting off of fireworks of every sort. And the very hour after the most stringent fasting, they rush to the enjoyment of the Easter lamb and the unmixed wine.

The investigation thus may be said to make highly probable the supposition that belief in the resurrection of Christ was influenced by thoughts and customs from pre-Christian resurrection-cults. But actual certainty cannot be attained until we have obtained new materials as a basis for further investigation. We ought not, therefore, to give further space here to mere suppositions regarding the question.⁴

II

Christ's resurrection is for Paul the guaranty of the resurrection of Christians. Christ is only "the first fruits of those who sleep" (I Cor. 15:20). Quite similarly is it said of Osiris that he is "the first of those in the West." On the basis of the mystical connection

¹ Cf. the book by Böhlig, cited above.

² Cf., for example, Firmicus Maternus, *De errore prof. relig.*, chap. xxii; Tertullian, *De praescr. haer.*, xl. 4: *imago resurrectionis* in the mysteries of Mithra.

³ C. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen* (Bonn, 1864), pp. 26 f.

⁴ Cf. on the question, among others, M. Brückner, *Der sterbende und auferstehende Gottheiland in den orientalischen Religionen und ihr Verhältnis zum Christentum* (Tübingen, 1908).

between Osiris and the believer, the latter participates in the fate of the god:

"As true as Osiris lives, will he also live; as true as Osiris is not dead, will he not die; as true as Osiris is not destroyed, will he not be destroyed. Osiris' mother, Nut, comes to the aid of the deceased. She gives thee thy head, she brings thee thy bones, she joins thy members together, and she sets thy heart in thy body.¹ . . . Thy transfigured spirit and thy strength come to thee as to the god, the representative of Osiris. . . . Thereupon thou ascendest upon the ladder to the heavens; the gate of heaven is opened to thee and the great bars will be drawn back for thee; thereupon thou findest Re [the sun-god]. . . . He sets thee upon the throne of Osiris in order that thou mayest reign over the dead."²

That the believer repeats the experiences of his god is a favorite thought in the ancient mystery-religions. Thus the belief in the resurrection of man can, wherever such a resurrection is expected, be based upon belief in the resurrection of the god honored by him. In harmony with the individualistic character of the mystery-religions, this resurrection faith is primarily concerned with the resurrection of each individual on his own account.

But it is not necessary that man should follow so circuitous a route in order to attain belief in his own individual resurrection. The same consideration of the course of nature which led him to conceive of the personified gods as dying and arising again can bring him also to the point of making the corresponding application to his own fate. If, now, dead vegetation blooms again, ought not dead persons likewise to come to life again? To be sure, the poet of the Book of Job (14:7 ff.) considers the fate of the tree for the purpose of putting it in contrast with that of mankind:

For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again,
And that the tender branch thereof will not cease . . .
But man dieth and wasteth away,
Yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?

But though the solution here be a negative one, the noteworthy thing in the passage is that the problem of the analogy of plant life

¹ Cf. the corresponding picture of the resurrected ones: "They possess their heart, they possess their mind, they possess their mouth, they possess their feet, they possess their arms, they possess all their members" (Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 99).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 96 ff.

and human life is prominently brought to view; and why should its solution not just as well result in the opposite way? Thus a narrative of the Bahnars of Eastern Cochinchina tells that the first men who were buried under a tree of life were accustomed to rise as full-grown men and women.¹ The author of Isa. 66:14 knows the figure that the bones sprout forth like grass; and Jesus Ben-Sira also mentions the sprouting of the bones of especially pious and holy men (46:12; 49:10). Arabian poets long for much rain upon the graves of their beloved ones, and in the mourning-poems of the neo-Hebraic poetry, at the conclusion of a poem, very frequently the wish is expressed that God may send dew upon the bones of the deceased.² Rain and dew further growth. "The dew of the stars of heaven" revives the bones (Isa. 26:19). We can see how such lines of thought resulted in a belief in the resurrection.³ We must also recognize how easily these ways of thinking must have fused with the thought of Mother Earth, upon the great significance of which for the popular religious belief we have learned to lay stress, especially since Albrecht Dieterich's investigation.⁴ The seed is laid in the bosom of the earth and thence sprouts forth a new plant. The well-known figure of the seed (I Cor. 15:37 f.;⁵ cf. John 12:24) is too self-evident to permit of its not having appeared elsewhere aside from early Christian literature.⁶ We find it in talmudic,⁷ as also in Parsi, literature. For an example of the latter cf. Bundahish 30:5: "If the corn is created by me so that when sowed in the earth it grows therefrom and manifolds itself, . . . just so the creation of each one of these grains was more difficult than bringing about the resurrection." But corresponding thoughts, developed in one way or another, may be traced

¹ Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, I, 74.

² I. Goldziher, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XIII (1910), 45.

³ Cf. among others also the etymological connection of the Greek ἀνθεστήρια (that is, the feast of the returning dead) with ἀνθος = bloom.

⁴ *Mutter Erde* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1905).

⁵ Paul uses the figure in such fashion that it serves him as a special proof for the difference between the resurrection body and the former body.

⁶ For example, I Clement, XXIV, 4 f.; Acta Pauli, 3:26 ff.

⁷ Sanh. 90b; Kethub. 111b; Pirke of R. Elieser 33.

back to the primitive stages of culture. So in the following example:¹

Some of the Fijians accounted for human mortality as follows. When the first man, the father of the human race, was being buried, a god passed by the grave and asked what it meant, for he had never seen a grave before. On hearing from the bystanders that they had just buried their father, "Do not bury him," said he, "dig the body up again." "No," said they, "we cannot do that. He has been dead four days and stinks."² "Not so," pleaded the god, "dig him up and I promise you that he will live again." Heedless of the divine promise, these primitive sextons persisted in leaving their dead father in the grave. Then said the god to these wicked men, "By disobeying me you have sealed your own fate. Had you dug up your ancestor you would have found him alive and you yourselves, when you passed from this world, should have been buried, *as bananas are*, for the space of four days, after which you should have been dug up, not rotten, but ripe. But now, as punishment for your disobedience, you shall die and rot."

That in this case mankind does not actually attain the fate of the banana is incidental. The important thing about this story is that it shows us how a primitive consciousness was led through the comparison of the human fate with that of plants to the thought of resurrection.

By observing the rising and setting of the stars we arrive at the same result. This may be read between the lines of very many stories about the origin of death which Frazer classifies as belonging to the "type of the waxing and waning moon." One of the most instructive is furnished us again by the Fijians:³

Once upon a time the moon contended that men should be like himself (for the Fijian moon seems to be a male); that is, he meant that just as he grows old, disappears, and comes in sight again, so men grown old should vanish for a while and then return to life. But the cat, who is a Fijian god, would not hear of it. "No," said he, "let men die like rats." And he had the best of it in the dispute, for men die like rats to this day.

Of similar stories there is a whole series upon African soil.⁴

Thus the Namaquas or Hottentots say that once the moon charged the hare to go to men and say: "As I die and rise to life again so shall you die and

¹ Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, I, 75 f.

² Cf. John 11:39!

³ Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, I, 67.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 65 f.

rise to life again." So the hare went to men, but either out of forgetfulness or malice he reversed the message. There are traces of a similar story among the Bushmen. Again, the Masai of East Africa say that in the early days a certain god named Naitern-kop told a man named Le-eyo that if a child were to die he was to throw away the body and say: "Man, die and come back again; moon, die and remain away." Well, soon afterwards a child died, but it was not one of the man's own children, so when he threw the body away he said: "Man, die, and remain away; moon, die, and return." Next, one of his own children died, and when he threw away the body he said "Man, die and return; moon, die and remain away." But the god said to him: "It is of no use now, for you spoilt matters with the other child." That is why down to this day when a man dies he returns no more, but when the moon dies she always comes to life again.

Finally, two examples from Australia:¹

The Arunta of Central Australia relate that before there was any moon in the sky, a man died and was buried. Shortly afterwards he rose from the grave in the form of a boy. When the people ran away for fear, he followed them shouting that if they fled they would die altogether, while he would die but rise again in the sky. He failed to induce them to return. When he died he reappeared as the moon, periodically dying and coming to life again; but the people who ran away died altogether. And the Wotjobaluk story runs that, when people died, the moon used to say: "You up again"; but an old man said: "Let them remain dead," and since then none has ever come to life again except the moon.

Here again also the final dissimilarity of the fate of men and of the moon is less important than the fact that the fates of both are most closely paralleled. Therefore we shall not wonder when we see the thought of resurrection on the third day arise among these primitive peoples. Thus in the narrative of the origin of death, told by the Nandi of British East Africa:²

They say that when the first people lived upon the earth a dog came to them one day and said: "All people will die like the moon, but unlike the moon you will not return to life again unless you give me some milk to drink out of your gourd, and beer to drink through your straw. If you do this, I will arrange for you to go to the river when you die and to come to life again on the third day." [The people, however, made fun of the dog and the result is here also negative.] In the Caroline Islands they say that long, long ago death was unknown, or rather it was a short sleep, not a long, long one, as it is now. Men died on the last day of the waning moon and came to life again on the first

¹ Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, IV, 412b.

² Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, I, 66.

appearance of the new moon, just as if they had awakened from a refreshing slumber. But an evil spirit somehow contrived that when men slept the sleep of death they should wake no more.¹

The same curious notion of death and resurrection after three days is entertained by the Unmatjera and Kaitish, two savage tribes of Central Australia.² Frazer adds significantly:

Nor does this association of ideas end with a mere tradition that in some former age men used to die with the old moon and come to life again with the new moon. Many savages, on seeing the new moon for the first time in the month, observe ceremonies which seem to be intended to renew and increase their life and strength with the renewal and increase of the lunar light. For example, on the day when the new moon first appeared, the Indians of San Juano Capistrano in California used to call together all the young men and make them run about, while the old men danced in a circle, saying: "As the moon dieth and cometh to life again, so we also having to die will again live." Again, an old writer tells us that at the appearance of every new moon the negroes of the Congo clapped their hands and cried out, sometimes falling on their knees: "So may I renew my life as thou art renewed."³

The star from whose reappearance men infer their own resurrection can, however, just as well be the sun as the moon.⁴ Hence, therefore, both in Judaism and in early Christianity, the rooster that announces the day appears as the symbol of the resurrection.⁵

Observation of plant life and of the stars is, however, not the only thing which may lead mankind by the way of naïve reflection to a belief in the resurrection. First, there is the fact of a similarity between particular individuals among men and beasts. Are not the latter simply the re-embodiment of the former? Primitive philosophers, in their childish statements, have stumbled upon something like the law of the conservation of energy. This law involves even more, in part at least, than the widespread belief that

¹ Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

² *Ibid.*, p. 68. Cf. also that, according to the letter of Professor Dr. Küttner in the *Schwäb. Merkur* of November 12, 1900 (No. 528), the Chinese Boxers were strengthened in their contempt of death through the belief that they would rise again after three days.

³ Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, I, 68.

⁴ Cf., for example, I Clement, XXIV, 3.

⁵ *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XIV (1911), 23; *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, XVI (1912), 73.

the souls of ancestors return again in the newly born.¹ Thus Livingstone tells how he was regarded by a chief magician as a resurrected Italian named Siriatomba. Evidently the chieftain could not explain the existence of a second white man otherwise than on the supposition that the first, having died, had simply returned. Furthermore, we hear² that certain dark-skinned groups, at least in Australia, had so seldom come across the phenomenon of white men that in them they supposed they saw their own dead bodily restored in accordance with the statement: "Black fellow tumble down, jump up white fellow." From this point of view may be explained what the Australian traveler George Grey tells us³ of the way in which he was rapturously caressed by an Australian woman as her deceased and restored son.

More frequently, of course, the very great similarity of the type itself will have suggested the idea of bodily return, and this holds true in much greater measure of animals than of men.⁴ In the case of animals it is more difficult for man to distinguish between the individuals of a single species. No wonder then that in primitive civilizations we frequently meet the belief in the resurrection of animals, and in so far as man is dependent for his nourishment upon the growth of these animals would he do the utmost possible in order directly to further their resurrection. A careful treatment of the bones is the best of all means to this end. Thus:

After feasting on a dog, the Dacotas carefully collect the bones, scrape, wash and bury them, partly, as it is said, from the belief that "the bones of an animal will rise and reproduce another." Among the Esquimaux of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, when a boy has killed his first seal his mother gathers all the bones and throws them into a seal-hole. They think that these bones will become seals which the boy will catch in later life. The Yuracares Indians of Bolivia are at great pains to collect all the bones of the beasts, birds and fishes which they eat and to throw them into a stream, bury them in the depths of the forest, or burn them in the fire, in order that the animals of the sort killed may not be angry and may allow themselves to be killed again.⁵

¹ Cf., for example, Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, I, 315.

² Cf. E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (German edition), II, 5.

³ *Journals of Two Expeditions in . . . Australia* (London, 1841), I, 301 f.

⁴ Even on into the higher stages of civilization the belief in the return of special individuals persists; cf. Matt. 14:2; 16:14; the return of Nero and others.

⁵ Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild* (1914), II, 256 f.

. . . . Many of the Minnetaree Indians "believe that the bones of those bisons which they have slain and divested of flesh will rise again clothed with renewed flesh and quickened with life, and become fat and fit for slaughter the succeeding June." Hence on the Western prairies of America the skulls of buffaloes may be seen arranged in circles and symmetrical piles, awaiting the resurrection.¹

In line with this belief in the resurrection of animals lies the myth of the Phoenix which deserves mention all the more since early Christian apologetics used it as proof for the Christian belief in the resurrection.²

The cases cited above refer to the resurrection of animals in the present world, but the Laplanders, for example, entertain a similar expectation regarding the next world.

In sacrificing an animal they regularly put aside the bones, eyes, ears, heart, lungs, sexual parts (if the animal was a male), and a morsel of flesh from each limb. Then after eating the remainder of the flesh, they laid the bones and the rest in anatomical order in a coffin and buried them with the usual rites, believing that the god to whom the animal was sacrificed would reclothe the bones with flesh and restore the animal to life in Jabme-Aimo, the subterranean world of the dead.³

It is noteworthy that in the examples cited the bodily resurrection is thought of as dependent upon the care of the material substratum of the dead, in whole or in part. This is a belief which persists with remarkable tenacity. We are well acquainted with the Jewish legend of the bone *Luz*, "the *nut* of the spinal column, which, being indestructible, was supposed to form the nucleus for the resurrection of the body."⁴ Possibly there is here ultimately a disguised connection with an old Egyptian belief.⁵ One of the most sacred symbols of the religion of Egypt is the Osiris token, namely, a pillar honored in Bubastis, which was interpreted by the

¹ Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, p. 256.

² I Clement, XXV.

³ Frazer, *Spirits*, etc., p. 257; in the same work further material regarding corresponding usages and ideas, pp. 183 f., 196, 200 f., 250, 254, 256. Cf. further Spiegelberg and Jacoby, "Der Frosch als Symbol der Auferstehung bei den Aegyptern," *Sphinx*, VII, 215-28.

⁴ See *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, VIII, 219.

⁵ As I have since seen, H. K. Brugsch (*Religion u. Mythologie der alten Aegypter* [Leipzig, 1888], p. 618, 634) has already expressed this supposition.

Egyptian theologians as the spine of the god buried in this place.¹ Fundamental to this is the opinion that the resurrection of the god is dependent upon its preservation. In popular narratives animals and men come to life if only their bones are preserved—or at least if only one is lacking. Hence, it is important that no bone should be lost; also, that the bones should not be broken or otherwise destroyed.² In a printed address delivered by a certain Dr. Schneider, even as late as the year 1875, upon the theme, "To Bury, Not to Burn," I read:

Only if the dead are laid in the sarcophagus in the state of entire preservation and are sunk in the grave is there any hope present for the mourners that they will remain preserved for life eternal and that we shall again find them. Of this comfort, however, those who remain behind are robbed if the body is taken from them and burned.

The number of sources for the origin of belief in the resurrection which we think we have discovered in the foregoing need not surprise us. In thus treating so irrational a problem as that of widespread belief in human resurrection,³ we shall be fundamentally more correct than if we were to strive to form a single principle. We shall have to go farther indeed in search of these sources. Then it must not be forgotten that if we are correct in tracing back belief in human duration primarily to the primitive interpretation of dream phenomena, we are at once struck by the idea that men in the next world preserve the form that characterized them in this life. The dream phenomena actually exhibit the deceased in the form in which they were known in this life. They are very frequently, indeed, as is well known, represented, so to speak, as

¹ Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

² Cf. also Ada Thomsen in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XII (1909), 474 ff. Of course, similar lines of thought lead to the deliberate breaking or destroying of bones by which men strive to hinder the dead from a bodily return. Cf. Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, II, 791b; Frazer, *Spirits*, etc., II, 260; *The Belief in Immortality*, I, 153.

³ Cf. as to this, for example, Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 279 ff.; *The Belief in Immortality*, I, 147. Carlo Pascals, *Fatti e leggende di Roma antica* (Firenze, 1903), wherein is a noteworthy chapter, "La resurrezione della carne nel mondo pagano," has been inaccessible to me. Cf. A. Dieterich, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, VIII (1905), 498.

uncorporeal shadow existences: we have only to think of the *εἶδωλον* of the Greeks. But, finally, if the dead appear and we speak with them and handle them as in former times, are they not still bodily existences endowed with flesh and blood as when alive in the body? This experience is in extraordinary contradiction to the hard fact that the body is seen to decay after death. Does there not lie in the simple logic of primitive thought the demand for a miracle by means of which the body shall be suddenly restored from the more or less ruined remains of its earlier form? If we consider the resurrection in connection with the ideas of life after death which man creates for himself, then it is conceived of, like translation, as a strictly miraculous spontaneous means of attaining the future goal which men otherwise attain in the course of a more or less lengthy journey of the soul. And perhaps indeed this miracle does not appear quite so great, for at this point still another method of observation is involved, in accordance with which death is thought of as closely related to sleep (cf., for example, the fable of the "Dornröschen und Sneewittchen").

Are not death and sleep quite alike? Death is indeed the brother of sleep.¹ Therefore, should not the dead wake again even as the sleeper does?² In sleep as in death the soul leaves the body. After sleep it returns; after death—of course, not immediately. The Koran expresses it splendidly in the 40th sura: "God takes the souls of men unto himself at their death and also the souls of those who do not die does he take during their sleep; and then he retains those whose death he has decided upon. The others, however, he sends back until a certain definite time." Is it, however, absolutely impossible to bring the latter back? In China, just as soon as anybody dies, men go on the roof and call to him, saying, "Halloo, N.M.; come back."³ Of course, the one called does not come back. But although the ordinary man does not succeed in waking the dead from his profound sleep, a word from an expert may accomplish the wonder. Quite generally, this power is credited

¹ Cf. *Iliad* xiv.231.

² In the foregoing narrative from the Carolinas, it actually so happens (see p. 15).

³ Liki, *Li-yün*, I, 7.

to the man of God, the saint, the wizard, etc.¹ And if their word has so much power, the more so does contact with the body of the saint who has been gifted with this power,² even if he be dead; thus, for example, in the narrative of II Kings 13:21, which the author of the Acts of Paul (4:32, 33) adduces as one of the evidences for the Christian belief in the resurrection. However, there are also circumstances which are so cataclysmic that in and of themselves they arouse the dead from the sleep. Thus after the battle of Actium and the piercing of the Isthmus of Corinth the dead are said to have arisen in masses;³ and the resurrection of many saints at the moment of the death of Jesus belongs in the same category (Matt. 27:52, 53).⁴ The presupposition underlying such an "awakening," namely, that the dead "are asleep," was peculiarly at home on Jewish soil.⁵ The growing belief in the awakening of the dead through Jesus and his followers was favored by all this.⁶ A like presupposition is, however, naturally so widespread⁷ that we may see in it a not unimportant source of the belief in resurrection.

One last consideration is of a purely religious sort and carries us back in a certain way to the beginning of this section, viz., *the connection of man with his god necessitates the god's bringing man to life again*, the only difference being that here the thought there indicated, that the arousing god was himself a dying and rising deity after the manner of an Osiris, is in itself excluded. Precisely upon Jewish soil is such a development found in the Book of Job. In general, indeed, his expectation of the future is a hopeless one, as

¹ Cf., for example, Sib. Or. III; 66 (Beliar!); and P. Fiebig, *Jüdische Wundergeschichten des neutestam. Zeitalters* (Tübingen, 1911), pp. 36 ff.; E. Rohde, *Psyche*⁶ (Tübingen, 1910), II, 191, note; O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder* (Giessen, 1909), pp. 46, 171-74, etc.

² Cf., for example, I Kings 17:21; II Kings 4:34; Philostratus *Vita Apoll.* iv. 45.

³ Cf. also Ovid *Melam.* vii. 206.

⁴ *μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ* is a secondary insertion in order to establish harmony with I Cor. 15:20 (see above, p. 11).

⁵ Cf. Jer. 51:39, 57; Job 14:12; Dan. 12:2; Isa. 26:19; Enoch 91:10; 92:3; 100:5; IV Ezra 7:32, etc.; the *κοιμᾶσθαι* of Paul. See also P. Volz, *Jüd. Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba* (Tübingen and Leipzig, 1903), p. 134.

⁶ Cf. Matt. 11:5; Luke 7:11 ff.; John, chap. 11; Acts 9:40; 20:10 ff.

⁷ Cf., for example, in Frazer's *The Belief in Immortality*, pp. 61 f., the story told of the Akamba, a Bantu tribe of British East Africa.

the citation given above (p. 12) shows. But it has been said¹ rightly that the very persistency with which Job constantly recurs to the comfortless idea, that with the dead everything is at an end, awakens in observant readers the suspicion that he thereby suppresses a hope constantly arising within himself that it might be otherwise. "O, that a man might die and live again," says Job (14:14). Then might Job indeed experience the moment when God's wrath, which sooner or later must indeed come to an end, would change. God would call him and Job would answer. If this might be so, then Job, comforted, would endure the hard service of this life until release should come to him! Thoughts of this kind gleam forth repeatedly like a flash of the divine grace (cf. 16:18 f.) until Job at the climax of his spiritual struggle in visionary anticipation is suddenly overcome by the conviction, "But I know that my avenger lives and will at the very last raise himself above the dust. The witness of my innocence will be with me and my vindication shall I see for myself. With my own eyes shall I see him and no stranger" (19:25 ff.).² Somewhat similar is the tone of two passages in the Psalter, namely 49:16 and 73:24,³ in which is seen (perhaps as a newly arising esoteric teaching of a small circle) an expectation born from a consciousness of imperishable fellowship with God, the expectation, if not of a resurrection, then of a sort of transport to God.⁴ In connection with the idea here suggested may be brought at once two New Testament passages, in which the thought of a resurrection appears to be completely passed over in favor of a conception which makes mankind attain immediately through death to the place of his permanent abode in the beyond.⁵

¹ B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob* (Freiburg, 1897), p. 42.

² The basis for the text here presupposed is presented in my *Bibl. Theologie des A.T.* (Stade II) (Tübingen, 1911), pp. 112 f., note.

³ Ps. 16:10 does not belong here (in spite of Acts 13:35), for the passage speaks merely of rescue from the danger of death, as does also Ps. 30:4 (see above, p. 9). On the other hand, perhaps, Isa., 53:7 (cf. Duhm on the passage) does, although in the present condition of the texts of Isa., chap. 53, we cannot say with certainty exactly how the author conceived of the glorification of the martyr.

⁴ *לָקַח* stands in both passages (also Isa. 53:7) as in the stories of Enoch (Gen. 5:24) and Elijah (II Kings 2:9 f.).

⁵ In view of the sense of the entire context I hold it impossible to regard the question as one of a mere intermediate state, as does, for example, C. Clemen, *Die religions-geschichtliche Erklärung des N.T.* (Giessen, 1909), p. 130.

These passages are Luke 23:43, Jesus' word to the thief, "Today shalt thou be with me in paradise," and Luke 16:22 f., the parable of the Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus, whom the angels carried into Abraham's bosom.

These two cases of an expectation of the attainment of individual immortality immediately after death stand remarkably isolated in the midst of ordinary New Testament expectation of a general resurrection on the "last day."

III

The belief in a general resurrection as over against the belief in an individual one marks a long step in advance. Whether it occurs among primitive civilizations wholly apart from all Christian influences appears to me uncertain. I believe that it is found only on American soil. "In the Mexican territories of Guazacualco and Yluta, the bones of the departed were deposited in baskets and hung up on trees that their spirits might not be obliged to grub in the earth for them at the resurrection";¹ and, in corresponding fashion, the Peruvians explained their observances to Garcilasso: "We, in order that we may not have to search for our hair and nails at a time when there will be much hurry and confusion, place them in one place, that they may be brought more conveniently, and whenever it is possible we are also careful to spit in one place."² In both cases, if I understand correctly, there is presupposed, where it is not general, at least a common resurrection of the dead. If Christian influences have had no part therein, I should be inclined to express the following supposition regarding the origin of this belief. It is a fact that over a wide area, for example, even in American primitive cultures, the dedication of youth appears as the death and resurrection or the rebirth of the individual concerned.³ Frazer

¹ Frazer, *Spirits*, etc., II, 259.

² H. Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, I (1876), 179. Similar usages are cited by Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 279 ff. Of a different sort is the extraordinary custom which Frazer describes in *The Belief in Immortality*, I, 145: "In some parts of Western Australia the natives detached the nails from the thumb and forefinger of the corpse and deposited them in a small hole beside the grave in order that they might know their friend at his resurrection."

³ Cf. again the *renatus* in the Isis-worship; *in aeternum renati* in the Mithras-cult; the "twice born" in Brahmanism. From the point of view of the history of religion, the thought of the rebirth in the New Testament is not to be separated from these.

has brought together in support of this an abundance of examples to which we need simply refer.¹ Now this rite of the dedication of youth, as is well known, is performed upon a whole class of the same age, or on several classes of the same age, at once, so that simultaneously a multitude "arises." May they not have arrived exactly from this standpoint at a belief in a resurrection of the many and thereby under certain circumstances finally at the belief in a general resurrection?

The faith in a general resurrection received its classic expression outside of the Bible, in Parseeism. Of course, aside from some more or less questionable allusions,² the Avesta offers us therefore only a few sure points of support. It is emphasized pre-eminently in the later passage, Yasht 19:88 ff.,³ and in a fragment,⁴ the meaning of which is in dispute. Much more extensive is the evidence from the Bundahish, which, however, is not older than the ninth century, but was perhaps created largely from old sources now lost. According to its 30th chapter, at the conclusion of the 12,000 years, which, for the Persians, is the set time (in contrast to the later unlimited fancies), first of all the primal man⁵ and the first human pair will arise. In fifty-seven years⁶ will the Soshyans (the Savior) with his helpers restore all the dead to life. Just and impious alike arise, each and every human being on the spot where he died. In the brilliant light, men will recognize each other, saying, "This is my father, this is my mother,"⁷ etc. Thereupon the assembly for judgment occurs, at which the godless become as conspicuous as a white sheep among jet-black ones. The righteous are designated for paradise; the godless are thrown back into hell,

¹ *Balder the Beautiful*, II, 225-78; cf. especially the clearly evident passages on pp. 236 f., 245, 250 f., 253 f., 262 f., 267, 269 ff., 275; *The Belief in Immortality*, I, 253 ff., 302, 434 ff.

² Cf. E. Böklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1902), pp. 75 ff.

³ Cf. my *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* (Tübingen, 1908), p. 355.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 355 f.; N. L. Westergaard, *Zendavesta* (Copenhagen, 1852-54), p. 332.

⁵ Cf. Apoc. Mos., § 41; I Cor. 15:23.

⁶ On this number cf. Fr. Windischmann, *Zoroastr. Studien* (Berlin, 1863), p. 242, n. 1.

⁷ Cf. the Syriac Apoc. of Baruch 50:4.

but only temporarily; for after three days and nights everything, through a great purifying judgment, goes over into the eternal world-fulfilment.

The similarity of these ideas to the Jewish expectation of the future attracts attention.¹ Here as there the resurrection faith is in connection with the expectation of judgment and the dawn of the eschatological salvation-era. Here as there the resurrection is a deed of God or of his Savior² and is grounded in the wholly divine creative might.³ The passages Dan. 12:2 and Isa. 26:19 are the first clear testimony to the Jewish belief in resurrection. The first passage carries us to the year 165 B.C. and the second is perhaps still later. On the other hand, as we learn from Diogenes Laertius and Aeneas of Gaza, Theopompus, the contemporary of Alexander the Great, already knew of the Persian belief in the resurrection; indeed, Herodotus (iii. 62) even knew it.⁴ The Jews from 538 B.C. on were under the domination of Persia and undoubtedly took over various Persian conceptions. Let us remind ourselves, for example, merely of the fact that the Asmodi of the Book of Tobit is none other than the Persian Aēthma Daēva.⁵ What then is more natural than the supposition that the Jews were indebted to the Persians also for their belief in the resurrection? Actual dependence is indeed placed beyond any sort of doubt through agreement in specific details. When, for example, according to the Talmud (Succa 52a) fifteen anointed ones arouse the dead, this is precisely the number of the companions who come to the aid of the Persian Soshyans (Bundahish 30:17);⁶ when further according to some rabbis the resurrection lasts 114 years, this extraordinary number is but the

¹ See E. Böklen, *op. cit.*, 102-15; furthermore, for example, Lawrence H. Mills in *The Monist*, XVII (1907), 583 ff.

² Cf., for example, Enoch 51:1 ff.; John 5:28 f.; 6:39 f., 44 f.; 11:25.

³ Cf. II Macc. 7:11, 23, with Bundahish 30:5. The same grounding occurs also in the Koran at the conclusion of the 75th sura. Cf. also Matt. 3:9!

⁴ Cf. *ἐλ μέν νυν οἱ θεογονοὶ ἀναστᾶσι*; N. Söderblom, *La vie future d'après le Mazdéisme* (Paris, 1901), pp. 244 f.; C. Clemen, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XVI (1913), 120 f.

⁵ See, besides, especially W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutest. Zeitalter* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 546 ff., and Index, s.v. "Eranische Religion."

⁶ Böklen, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

doubling of the 57 well known to us in Bundahish 30:7;¹ or when finally in the prophecy of Eldad and Modad the blessed Jews are to participate in the ox which was prepared for them from the beginning,² this agrees precisely with the Persian expectation that Soshyans and his companions give the blessed ones of the fat of the ox Hadhayosh as nourishment (Bundahish 30:25).³

In spite of this, however, a simple derivation of the Jewish belief in the resurrection from the Persian only is not quite self-explanatory. One thing particularly gives us pause, upon which, as far as my knowledge goes, Baudissin⁴ first laid his finger. Among the Jews the resurrection appears as an awakening from a sleep in the dust of the earth. Precisely this thought, however, is foreign to the Persians; for their manner of funeral is not the burial, but the exposure of the bodies. The carcasses are thus dissolved in the elements and, as the Bundahish (30:6) logically represents, are again demanded from the elements—the bones from the spirit of the earth, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants, life from the fire.⁵ We cannot escape the knowledge that the belief in the resurrection stands in so slight an organic connection with the Persian manner of funeral that it is scarcely possible to trace both back to a natural growth from a common root; and thus the supposition must lie near at hand, either that the Persians have derived their belief in the resurrection itself from some foreign source, or that the exposure of the body is only a secondary element in their funeral rite. The latter seems to me the more probable.⁶ However, even if it were fitting we cannot make too much capital of it; for we may by no means underestimate what we may call the Jewish antecedents of the belief in a general resurrection. At this point, Ezek., chap. 37, comes into consideration. To be sure, an older dogmatic erred when it claimed the chapter as the *locus*

¹ Böklen, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

² Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*², p. 327.

³ Cf. Scheftelowitz in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XIV (1911), 38 ff., and notice further Bundahish 30:26: the generation of children no longer occurs = Matt. 22:30: ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀναστάσει οὐτε γαμοῦσιν οὐτε γαμίζονται.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 419 ff.

⁵ Cf. the Slavonic Enoch, chap. 30.

⁶ Cf. Herodotus iii. 62: ἑθαψά μιν χερσὶ τῇσι ἐμνευτοῦ, in the mouth of a Persian!

classicus of the belief in the resurrection in the Christian sense. If a belief in the resurrection had been in force in Ezekiel's time, then to Yahweh's question whether the bones could come back to life again the prophet must have answered otherwise than he does in vs. 3. The requickening of which he speaks, it must be borne in mind, is only allegorically meant—a figure for the political renovation of the people; for the “dead bones” of his vision are not actually dead, but living things, namely, the scattered members of the people now in exile. As a people, therefore, is Israel to rise again. We should do well, however, to hold fast to the fact that about the year 586 B.C. this thought was so clearly expressed under the figure of the resurrection. In this connection it is difficult to say whether this figure was original with Ezekiel; that is, whether it was presented before his eye in the form of a visionary experience as a completely new thing. In his visions usually there is mingled so much of the scholastic element, that it may be supposed that in the background of our passage stood the memory of Hos. 6:2, which words Ezekiel understood from the point of view of the resurrection-thought which was originally foreign to them (cf. above, p. 9, n. 2). However this may be, *the people as a whole are to rise*: here lies for the Jews the starting-point of the belief in the common resurrection of the many. That in itself the thought of a return to life after death was a conception quite attainable for them, the first two parts of this discussion have shown. Further, we may not leave out of consideration the gradual influence of a vigorous belief in retribution—the development of the Job problem set forth above (p. 22) establishes that for us. When, therefore, in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes the distress of the pious reached its climax, then it seemed that retribution in the form of an eschatological change could no longer be deferred. But if then the kingdom should be intrusted to “the people of the saints of the Most High” (Dan. 7:27), at its coming would the pious martyrs come out empty-handed and, vice versa, would the renegade Jews be in no way different from the deceased pious? Considered in connection with such thoughts, the expectation of Dan. 12:2 gains so much in logical sequence that we must ask ourselves whether it was not first in the common course of the

development of Jewish and Persian conceptions that the point was reached at which an influence of the one upon the other set in.

By the conception of the heavenly brilliance of the risen ones (Dan. 12:3) we are carried perhaps beyond the purely Jewish thought-circle. While for this conception specifically the natural premises fail in Judaism, they may very well have been present in Parseeism, whose god is praised as the shining one who has the light as his element. It may be asked indeed whether or not in the setting aside of the risen ones to an eternal glory of light on the one hand and to everlasting horror on the other, the Persian dualistic principle influenced the Jewish conceptions. Genuine Jewish experience has given sufficient consideration to the thought of the sudden destruction or the eternal oblivion of the godless, while the righteous must rise again as members of that people in order to be able to participate in the future deliverance of the people. At least, such a point of view lay in the straight-forward development of the thought of Ezekiel. Actually we find even then in Judaism, in great measure, the expectation of a resurrection of the righteous only.¹ Josephus² ascribes it to the Pharisees³ and it became a characteristic school-dogma of the older rabbis. On the other hand, Parseeism expected the resurrection, not merely of the Mazda believers,⁴ but of all men.⁵ Does there not lie here a further point at which we must concede an influence of Persian conceptions upon the Jewish in so far as among the Jews—contrarily enough—the belief in a general resurrection is confused with a belief in a resurrection of the righteous only,⁶ in part, indeed, within one and the same writing?⁷ It is precisely this uneven-

¹ For example, Enoch 46:6; 90:33; 91:10; 92:3; 100:5. II Macc. 7:14; 12:43 f.; Ps. Sol. 3:12; 14:10; cf. Luke 14:14.

² War, II, viii, 14; Ant., XVIII, i, 3.

³ In opposition to them the Sadducees positively denied the resurrection (cf. Enoch 102:6-8; Acts 23:8; 4:1 f.); indeed, the First Book of Maccabees, which consistently assumes a Sadducean standpoint, says not a word of the resurrection even where there was occasion for so doing.

⁴ Contra Isa. 26:19: *יָחַיִּם וְיָמֵי*.

⁵ Yasht 19:89; Bundahish 30:7.

⁶ For example, IV Ezra 5:45; 7:32; cf. John 5:28 f.; Acts 24:15.

⁷ For example, in the Test. XII Patr. (general resurrection: Testament of Benj., chap. 10; partial resurrection: Testament of Judah, chap. 25; Sim., chap. 6; Zeb., chap. 10); and in the Syriac Apoc. of Baruch (general: 42:7; 50:2; partial: 30:1-3), Apoc. of Moses X, 41 presupposes a general resurrection; on the other hand, in chap. 13 it says, "all flesh from Adam on to that great day will rise—all who are of the holy people!"

ness of the Jewish conception of the resurrection which always makes probable the supposition of its having been influenced from the side of some foreign circle of ideas.

At the same time, the fact of this unevenness set before the Jewish theology of the day a definite task, namely, to bring the conflicting conceptions as much as possible into harmony with one another. From this point of view, for example, we may understand Rev. 20:5, 13, where we meet the attempt to combine the resurrection of the righteous with the general resurrection, in that the eschatological drama is laid out in several acts. Also, on another side, the theological need of mediation was presented. There were in circulation alongside of more spiritual conceptions of the resurrection,¹ to which the Book of Daniel with its expectations of the heavenly glory of the risen ones already pointed the way, more material conceptions according to which all emphasis fell upon the thought of the complete restoration of this earthly corporeity.² Thus the Apocalypse of Baruch in chaps. 49-51 struggles to combine the diverging views with one another. Of course, the earth gives the dead back again unchanged as a proof for those still living at that time that it is a matter of an actual resurrection. However, thereupon the condition of the risen ones will be changed, that of the godless into pain, that of the pious into a different form reaching as far as the glory of the angels and even farther.

In one respect the Jewish belief in the resurrection never followed the Persian. It was not able to raise itself to the reconciling conclusion which the Persian expected with his supposition of an ἀποκατάστασις τῶν πάντων.³ In Judaism the partisan opposition between the righteous and godless was too deeply rooted to permit the former to concede the possibility of final salvation to the latter.

¹ For example, Enoch 51:4; 104:4, 6; Syriac Apoc. of Baruch 51:10; the risen ones are ὡδάγγελοι; cf. Luke 20:36; Enoch 108:11: a transfiguration of those born in darkness; cf. further my *Biblische Theologie* (Stade II), pp. 462, 464.

² For example, II Macc. 7:11, 23; 14:46. The scribes rack their brains over this point whether the clothing of this corporeity in the other world would begin with skin and flesh and complete itself with veins and bones (thus the school of Hillel), or vice versa (thus the school of Shammai).

³ On the other hand, the thought, as is well known, recurs in Origen and Gregory of Nyssa.

The New Testament is a faithful mirror of these different conceptions of the resurrection in Judaism. We cannot here follow this out farther, for on the threshold of Christianity our investigation comes to a halt. What it may show, however, on its part is this: namely, how the conceptions of the Christian circle of faith in the last analysis were rooted in the circle of the religious conceptions of humanity. And this fact does no injury to the religious character of the Christian belief in the resurrection; for its true greatness is measured by the greatness of the God, to indissoluble communion with whom the Christian hopes to attain through victory over bodily death.